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3 December 1981

West Europe Report

(FOUO 63/81)



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TERRORISM

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

ARREST OF NEONAZIS REVEALS INTERNATIONAL COLLABORATION

Hamburg STERN in German 29 Oct 81 pp 20, 27-28, 32

/Report by Rupp Doinet and Tyll Schoenemann: "Our Hour Has Struck"

/Text/ German neonazis aim to destroy the state. They have allied themselves with right radical groups in France and Belgium. From them they obtain weapons, money and training. The Munich terrorists also lived in Paris before their planned crime. Is an international wave of right terrorism imminent?

The white Citroen GS travels from France toward the German border post. At the wheel a young Frenchman, Pascal Coletta from Paris. Passengers in the car are four young Germans, hair cut short in the military style. The five are allowed to proceed without closer inspection.

They are unaware that they are expected. Nor do they notice that they are being followed from this point on. Officers from the Cologne Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution (BfV) in unmarked radio cars shadow them in turn--all the way to Munich.

In the Munich suburb of Neubiberg the white Citroen stops in the courtyard of the building at Brunhildenstrasse 23. One of them rings the bell marked "Druckerei und Verlag Friedhelm Busse" /Printing Shop and Publishing House Friedhelm Busse/. Among his neighbors Herr Busse enjoys the reputation of being a quiet tenant. On the odd occasion when he starts up his printing press in the garage at night, he apologizes: "I am printing romantic novels. It is a rush order." That particular evening, Tuesday last week, a rather lengthy conference is taking place in printer Busse's living room with the people from the white Citroen. Shortly after 20.00 hours the guests load up their car, take their leave and drive off.

Both the meeting and the loading operation are observed from beginning to end by the SEK /special unit/ of the Munich Police. The code name of the operation is "Bavaria." Eight officers in two armored and heavy BMW limousines pursue the white Citroen for two kilometers through the residential district. At the wide Putzbrunner Strasse one of the BMW's overtakes the French car. The stop sign is extended from the window. The Citroen driver tries to ram the police car. At that moment the other BMW turns up, pushes the Citroen to the side and stops. The eight SEK officers jump from the car. They are armed with automatics and wear

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bulletproof vests. The five occupants of the car slowly emerge, two being--with some hesitation--to raise their hands. At that very moment someone throws a hand grenade. It explodes under the Citroen. Shots follow. The police shoot back. Seconds later the uproar is at an end. On the pavement lie two dead, two seriously injured, one of them a policeman.

From the white Citroen the police extract seven hand grenades FI of Soviet origin, three automatics, one Smith & Wesson gun, a rifle and a shotgun with a sawn-off barrel, smoke bombs, tear gas and ammunition.

Three quarters of an hour later criminal police officers carry eleven strips of explosive and several boxes of ammunition from printer Busse's garage. Busse, the host of the shooting quintet, is arrested as the leader of a right radical terror association.

By that time two of his young comrades-at-arms had already died in hospital: Kurt Eduard Wolfram, 21, and Klaus Ludwig Uhl, 24. Peter Fabel, 18, lies in the intensive care unit. Peter Hamberger, also 18, and Frenchman Pascal Coletta, 19, are in jail. The following day the investigating judge at the Federal High Court issues an arrest order for them and Busse, for membership in a terrorist association.

The coup at Munich brings evidence that the Nazi terrorists have long enjoyed the aid and assistance of political friends in France and Belgium. There they find money, weapons, training and hiding places.

The wirepuller of the right terror international is 52-year old printer Friedhelm Busse. In the guise of a decent citizen he is really the head of the Popular Socialist Movement of Germany/Party of Labor (VSBD). Busse comes from the Ruhr. In Bochum, during the 1960's, he joined the "Resistance Action" and later the NPD /National Democratic Party of Germany/. In 1970 he was their top candidate in North Rhine-Westphalia's Bundestag election.

However, he considered the NPD too soft and proceeded to establish his own party, the VSBD. In 1974 he moved to Munich. He published brochures on racial hygiene, blood and soil. He celebrated Adolf Hitler as an "outstanding historical figure." Busse's aim: "The establishment of the first radical-democratic and anti-imperialist state on German soil."

He intended to achieve by violence that which he and his party failed to achieve in elections. Later he lectured to the terrorist "Hoffmann Military Sports Group." At the funeral of his follower Frank Schubert who had killed a Swiss customs officer and a policeman in December 1980, subsequently shooting himself, Busse said: "We must revenge ourselves, break the powers that be. We must be ready to die, to save our honor. We must hate our foes just as they hate us. The storm will be raging until, eventually, the Reich rises anew."

For this storm Busse sought allies in Belgium and France. He found them in the Order of Flemish Militants (VMO) and the European Federation of National Action (FANE).

In August 1980 Busse follower Klaus Ludwig Uhl took refuge with FANE in Paris. This 24-year old tax counsel trainee from the wine village of Weyher near Landau

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(Palatinate) had already put up Hitler pictures on the walls of his room while attending secondary school.

Toward the end of 1979 Uhl was sentenced to 2 years in prison for incitement to riot and Nazi propaganda. Before proceedings began at the appeals court, he fled to France.

In exile he became a key figure on the right terror scene. His cover name in Paris was "Bormann"--the name of Hitler's deputy. Uhl/Bormann posed as the "head of the propaganda echelon" of a "NSDAP" domiciled in America and used the pseudonym "Werdorf" to write for the VOELKISCHE BEOBACHTER, a neonazi hate magazine which was smuggled from France to Germany. From Paris he entered into contacts with the Hoffmann Military Sports Group and organized military exercises in the Ardenne forests. Moreover he founded right radical "werewolf platoons" in Austria and the Federal Republic.

Neonazi Uhl negotiated with representatives of the American Ku Klux Klan, with Spanish fascists and the VMO regarding a worldwide right alliance of action. His target was "the march on Germany." It was Uhl who recruited Pascal Coletta, 19, FANE member, to drive the Citroen.

On Monday of last week Nazi internationalist Uhl was classified as an "exceptionally dangerous extremist" at a situation conference on internal security in Bonn's interior ministry.

The discussion paper in Bonn was an analysis by the Cologne BfV. The experts summarized the situation as follows: "At no time in past decades were relations between German neonazis and their political friends abroad so intensive as now. At this time we are quite justified in speaking of international neonazism." At many meetings of right terrorists at home and abroad "weapons, ammunition and explosive procurement and the planning of attacks" are said "to have been discussed."

Klaus Ludwig Uhl and Kurt Eduard Wolfram, 21, the two dead "popular socialists" of Munich, are accused by the federal prosecutor's office of having operated already a month ago--to get money. On 23 September 1981 the two are alleged to have attacked the branch of the Nassau Savings Bank in Rennerod (Westerwald). Their loot: DM72,000.

The police ascertained that the Rennerod savings bank was to be the target of the Munich quartet once again. As far back as 11 August last two heavily armed men had attacked the district savings bank in Neuenstadt near Heilbronn and carried off DM90,110. The police believe to recognize Klaus Ludwig Uhl as one of the attackers from the photographs taken by the automatic camera installed in the lobby of the savings bank.

Peter Hamberger, 18, arrested in Munich, was a member of the Hoffmann Military Sports Group. Last year, after the attack on the Munich Oktoberfest, he and his chief Hoffmann went to ground in the PLO camp "Bir Hassan" in Lebanon. Last spring he fled from there, gave himself up to the German authorities and incriminated Hoffmann. Thereupon he was discharged. The judge imposed several conditions, one of them being avoidance of contacts with right radicals.

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Hamberger got a job as an unskilled laborer with Nazi printer Busse. An ideal employer with the very best contacts in Belgium. Hamberger used them to go underground. In Antwerp he quickly found friends among the fascist VMO. Their leader, Bert Erikson, welcomed him to his headquarters, the "Cafe Odal." The slogan of Hitler fan Erikson: "We must walk on corpses if we want to liberate Flanders." Hamberger had himself photographed with Flemish comrades on military sports exercises in the Ardennes.

A few hours before the shots in Munich a bomb exploded in Antwerp's Jewish quarter, in front of the diamond bourse. The bomb had been hidden in a car. Two people died, a hundred were injured. Shortly thereafter a neonazi organization, the "Action Directe," claimed responsibility.

Thursday of last week the Belgian antiterrorist unit Diana struck in Ghent and arrested four German right extremists. Three of them were sought per international arrest order by the federal German prosecutor general: The couple Klaus and Kristin Hewicker and Ernst Balke, 38, from Celle. Allegation: Membership in a criminal association. The Bremen prosecutor's office sought the fourth man, Gerard Toepfer, 25, for incitement to riot.

The quartet had crossed the Belgian border from France at Lille. The Belgian authorities had been alerted by their French colleagues and pursued the Germans to Ghent by way of Antwerp. The four took up quarters in the home of a right radical in the suburb of Sint Martens. When the police stormed their hiding place, they found rifles with silencers, blank drivers licenses and blank passports. They also discovered more proof of international neonazi collaboration: Notebooks with contact addresses of fascists in France, Belgium, Spain and Ireland.

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ENERGY ECONOMICS

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

PETROLEUM INDUSTRY TO DISMANTLE OR MODERNIZE REFINERIES

Hamburg CAPITAL in German Oct 81 pp 14-15

[Article by Hans-Josef Joest: "When the Flame Goes Down"]

[Text] Esso chief Wolfgang Oehme finds that the advertising slogan used by his company is catching up to him. "There is a lot to do. Let's get down to work." According to Oehme's oracle the petroleum industry is facing a shrinking process "that this industry has never seen before." As homeowners throttle their oil tanks and companies abandon heavy oil and go over to coal, the 31 German refineries are working at their minimum technical capacity. Therefore the Esso chief wants the scrap metal collectors to take over. "About one-third of our refining capacity is no longer needed."

There are two trends making the situation tight for oil companies: A decrease in consumption, and obsolete equipment. Last year petroleum sales decreased 11.4 percent to 118 million tons. The refineries, however, are designed for 150 million tons of crude oil. In addition the refineries which are technically not up to date turn out products which are not in demand. Instead of producing sought-after gasoline (sales plus 1.8 percent) they concentrate on yesterday's demands and supply light heating oil which is difficult to sell (17.6 percent drop in sales) and heavy oil (minus 9.3 percent).

It is obvious that the oil magnates lack foresight and therefore do not like to talk about these facts. The bill is being paid by the consumer at the filling station. The large petroleum companies strain his pocketbook in order to be able to sell their products which are difficult to sell, particularly heavy oil, at dirt-cheap prices. An insider concedes that "the bestsellers have to support the sickly products." Improved calculations will not be possible until the processing capacity is drastically reduced. A smaller number of modernized refineries working at full capacity will enable the oil companies to again defend themselves in price competition on the market which continues to dwindle.

For the time being, however, study groups in the management echelons of the oil companies are selecting the plants to be modernized, reduced in operation, or discontinued. Only those refineries will remain unaffected that produce special products, e.g., bitumen, an insulating medium, or greasing agents, as Oelwerke J. Schindler GmbH, Hamburg, a BP subsidiary.

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The investment plans reveal which refineries are given a chance to survive by oil magnates. As early as 5 years ago, Shell, Veba Oel and Wintershall already had plans of highly modern cracking plants on their shelves, so-called hydrocrackers. These plants crack hard-to-sell heavy oil and convert it into gasoline which is in high demand. At that time, however, only Wintershall AG, a BASF subsidiary, ventured to go through with this costly investment and has since been operating Germany's most modern refinery in Lingen. Now, 5 years later, Messrs Veba Oel, Gelsenkirchen, and Shell, Cologne-Godorf, are following suit. Cracking plants of this type for heavy oil residues also give the planners an idea of the size which even modern refineries must shrink down to. In the future, the refineries are to process only as much crude oil as the cracking plants are capable of cracking down to sought-after gasoline. Then no heavy oil would have to be subsidized by car drivers. Experts calculate that almost 20 tons of crude-oil capacity will be eliminated in refineries with cracking plants.

Those refineries which supply mostly chemical companies with their products also have a chance to survive, e.g., Deutsche Marathon Petroleum GmbH, Burghausen. Their future will only be secured, however, if the plastics producers co-own the refineries, e.g., BASF which has an interest in the Mannheim GmbH crude oil refinery through Wintershall, or Hoechst with its interest in the Union Rheinische Braunkohlen Kraftstoff AG, Wesseling. The best example for this theory is the uncertainty of the fate of the Raunheim Caltex Refinery owned by the Deutsche Texaco AG and the Chevron Erdoel Deutschland GmbH. Up to the present it supplied Hoechst with refinery products, but the agreement is about to expire, and Hoechst's demand can be filled by its Wesseling subsidiary. Caltex has already announced a reduction in its capacity by one-third.

Finally, problems of location make the discontinuation of 9 plants with a total of more than 30 million tons of volume a difficult undertaking. Large corporations require sales networks which cover large areas. Small suppliers must retain at least one refinery in order to exchange gasoline for other areas. Old plants cannot be shut down until these cooperation agreements have been concluded. The oil companies are not worried about their employees finding other jobs, however. Refinery workers are highly qualified specialists and can be utilized in the chemical plants of the multinational oil companies, like the workers of the Cologne Esso refinery which is about to be shut down. Other oil companies have ambitious plans for former refinery workers of theirs: They will be employed in the refineries converting coal into gasoline.

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POLITICAL

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SOVIET PEACE MOVEMENT TIES; DISINFORMATION ACTIVITIES

Paris VALEURS ACTUELLES in French 19-25 Oct 81 pp 54-55

[Article by Philippe Krasnopolski: "The KGB's Pigeons. How the Soviets Are Operating in Disguise in Europe. By Manipulating the Respectable Peace Movements Animated by Christian or Youth Organizations"]

[Text] "The pacifist movement...is regaining strength and spreading especially in the countries of Western Europe. What are the reasons for this? On one hand, the people are greatly preoccupied with American politics; on the other hand, the pacifist initiatives of the socialist countries have had their effect. The diverse political forces have joined the pacifist movement: the communist parties, the major sectors of social democracy and of the ecology movement."

Mr Boris Ponomarev, member of the Soviet Communist Party Politburo and head of the "international relations" section, is drawing up this report in the October issue of the "New International Review," one of the communist movement's theoretical publications. It is also a balance sheet. A year ago, on 28 September 1980, the World Council for Peace decided to organize a widespread campaign against rearmament of NATO members and against the emplacement of the American Pershing 2 rockets in Europe.

This World Council has its headquarters in Sofia, Bulgaria. It is an organization of obedience to the Soviet Union. In France, it is represented by the Movement for Peace, whose secretary general, Mr Michel Langignon, is a member of the Communist Party.

Mr Ponomarev can appreciate the work it has accomplished: Three hundred thousand demonstrators "for peace and disarmament" in Bonn on 10 October. Last April, there had been only 25,000 protesting against the NATO sessions in the capital of the Federal Republic.

Other demonstrations are anticipated: in London on 24 October; in Brussels and Paris on the 25th; at the Hague the following month.

"The struggles waged by the pacifist forces of Western Europe are converging," affirms the daily L'HUMANITE.

The culmination of the campaign will be a great international demonstration in Brussels on 6 December, the eve of the NATO council meeting.

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In Germany, the agents of the Soviet Union are moving about in disguise. At the source of the assembly were two pacifist organizations with Christian tendencies: the "Expiation Action" and the "Action Movement in the Service of Peace." In reality, the idea for this demonstration belonged to a Dutch organization, "End the N Bomb," created in 1977 at the Netherlands' initiative and headed by the International Relations office of the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee.

The decision for this was, nevertheless, made in Hamburg on 20 June during Kirchentag, at the synod of the German Evangelical Church, after the first demonstration had brought together 80,000 people in the city streets.

On 24 August, the plan received the blessing of the central committee of the Ecumenical Council of Churches which met in Dresden in the GDR, and that of Mr Erich Honecker, East Germany's head of state.

The small communist party [DKP] of the Federal Republic of Germany thus placed its men.

One of the organizers of the 10 October demonstration is a certain Fritz Teppich. He has already been at the forefront of the disturbances against General Haig's visit to Berlin on 13 September. In the sixties, Mr Teppich activated the German leftist movement within the Apo, the extra-parliamentary opposition.

Previously, he lived in East Berlin, where he was working for the western division of SED, the Communist Party of East Germany, before becoming correspondent for ADN, the GDR's news agency, in the city's western sector. There he belonged to SEW, the SED's western branch. But he soon left the movement (after a falling out with its head) to rejoin the pacifists.

Another communist infiltrator is Mr Achim Maske, presently the secretary general of the Committee for Peace, Disarmament and Detente. He is a former director of the communist group, Spartakus.

A report of the Bundesverfassungsschutz, the office to protect the Constitution (the DST [Directorate of Territorial Surveillance] of the Federal German Republic), was forwarded to Mr Schmidt. It reveals this communist infiltration of the pacifist movements. According to this report, the European communists will be drawing up a 3-year plan of action against the NATO rearmament, with 1981 being the first phase.

For the first 6 months of 1982, this plan would provide for direct action against military installations in the NATO countries, such as taking over the barracks. On 5 August 1982 (the eve of the anniversary of Hiroshima), demonstrations would take place in all of Western Europe, accompanied by hunger strikes. At Christmas, the churches would be occupied.

In January 1983, the pacifists would call for civil disobedience (refusal to pay taxes, etc.); strikes against industry would be launched. Finally, again in August, on the 6th, there would be new mass demonstrations. The Pershing rockets are due to be installed in Europe in 1983.

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The report likewise sheds new light on last February's publication in the weekly STERN of a map showing the site of American nuclear missile installations in the Federal Republic of Germany. This document had been furnished to the journal by the BBU [expansion unknown], an ecology movement, which itself proceeded from the Communist Party of the FRG.

These documents were furnished by Section A of the KGB, the famous "disinformation" department. Thus, in June 1980, a "Pentagon document" began to be circulated in Great Britain, showing the American atomic weapon targets in the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact countries. But it also included the ones in the neutral countries and even NATO members (in the case of Russian occupation). This document arrived in the Netherlands the following December. Today it is being circulated among the Scandinavian countries. A "pacifist" majority was elected to the Hague last May.

Photo Captions

1. p. 54. Mr Egon Bahr. One of the only German political figures, along with Mr Willy Brandt, to receive praise from PRAVDA.
2. p. 55. The arguments of German pacifism are summarized in the text of this poster: "Bill for the FRG. Items delivered: packages of food, Marshall Plan, Starfighters. Paid to date: loyalty to the alliance, military bases. Balance due: battlefield."

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POLITICAL

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

EFFECTS OF GERMAN PACIFISM ON ALLIANCE, FRANCE

Paris VALEURS ACTUELLES in French 19-25 Oct 81 p 53

[Article: "Disarmament at a Distance; Mr Brezhnev Did Enough By Deploying His SS 20 Missiles for 'German Pacifism' To Develop"]

[Text] "There is no greater art," said the Chinese philosopher Sun Tsu, "than to destroy the enemy's resistance without fighting on his territory." The deployment of Soviet SS 20 missiles (directed exclusively against Western Europe) is already achieving its objective: disarmament at a distance. In a few months, Chancellor Schmidt's capacity for resistance will be known. But part of his public opinion has been won: "Better red than dead," stressed the demonstrators in Bonn, following those in Berlin.

The Federal Republic of Germany is nevertheless the country which has received 15 million witnesses: the refugees of occupied Europe. The Communist Party has no representation there; even access to public office is forbidden to its members.

The goals of Soviet foreign policy in Europe are at the same time permanent and immediate. They date from the Potsdam Conference (August 1945) which was aimed at dismembering and disarming Germany. General Gehlen, who was the head of the German secret service, recalled in his Memoirs 10 years ago: "The disintegration of the Western alliance and the subversion of the Federal Republic are two complementary aspects of the same Soviet strategy."

At present, it is a matter of slowing down the installation of the Pershing rockets and NATO cruise missiles, capable of restoring to Europe an equilibrium of nuclear forces which has been endangered by the use of the movable launch pads of the Soviet SS 20 rockets for 2 years.

Because of the range and precision of these nuclear missiles, added to that of their Backfire bombers, the Russians could aim at Western Europe and neutralize its principal means of defense--on condition that neither the Pershing nor the cruise missiles are deployed in Germany and elsewhere, since that would force the Soviets to reckon not only with the Europeans but also the Americans. This is the reason for the present Soviet activism toward preventing this emplacement.

The policy of detente, the departure of Mr Nixon, and the weakness of Mr Carter have allowed Mr Brezhnev to make up for his strategic delay. He is in the position of dominating his rival. This superiority will be gained in 1985, i.e. in little over 3 years. But not for long, because Mr Reagan is authorizing a formidable recovery effort in putting 180 billion more dollars into American defense over the next 5 years. Mr Brezhnev therefore is hoping to stall for time.

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In Germany he depends on two levers. One is the Left's neo-nationalism: it is in the name of "German national interest," of "patriotism," that the spokesmen of the pacifist demonstration have expressed themselves. By treating the American army as the "occupier," Mr Egon Bahr (founder of Ostpolitik) makes himself understood.

The other lever is the Polish crisis. That poses many disadvantages for the Soviet system (especially the risk of spreading), but by not intervening for a year in Warsaw, the Kremlin let the German Leftists spread the idea that the "Polish renaissance" would show the possibility of a "liberated" socialism, "managing itself" in the East.

"France is not confusing pacifism with peace," said Mr Mitterrand on 24 September. He cannot deny that France will not be spared the campaign being waged in Germany, just as it would become involved in any armed aggression against Germany.

Photo Caption

1. p 53. Mr Ehrard Eppler. "In the Pershing matter, German national interest is identical to Moscow's."

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POLITICAL

ITALY

PSDI'S LONGO ON FUTURE ALLIANCE WITH PSI

Milan IL MONDO in Italian 16 Oct 81 pp 23-25

[Interview with Pietro Longo, secretary of the PSDI [Italian Social Democratic Party], by Donato Speroni: "Pietro Longo Speaks: United with the PSI [Italian Socialist Party] Against the DC [Christian Democratic Party]"]

[Text] His most recent exploit was last week, when he refused to budge from the position that the governing majority should put to the vote a joint foreign policy bill, thus heading off at its inception a looming convergence between socialists and communists. During the same week, he praised to the highest the work of Giovanni Spadolini but he also took the government to task, harshly criticizing Minister Rino Formica's tax proposals. In sum, PSDI Secretary Pietro Longo continues being a dark horse and a threat even to his allies. Why and with what strategy in mind? IL MONDO put these questions to Longo himself.

[Question] Your role in Italian politics is being likened to that of a privateer. One is never certain where and when you will attack next. Even the governments being supported by your party never feel secure in that respect. Why this behavior?

[Answer] Do we convey that impression? We may at times lack the necessary subtleties of style or adroitness of maneuver. But from the standpoint of basic substance, we have never been wrong. If anything, it is the others who are now coming round to the viewpoints of the social democrats.

[Question] With respect to this government, you started out by immediately attacking Spadolini in depth. Now, you have changed tone. Why?

[Answer] I am convinced that our first laic government must be characterized by determinative action. Spadolini should not be mediating between social groups like his Christian democratic predecessors. In the beginning, I had the impression that he was becoming involved in too many mediations.

[Question] And now?

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[Answer] It appears to me that our proddings have been useful. This is the reason for the great satisfaction I have expressed recently and in my meeting with the prime minister as well.

[Question] The PSDI has always favored the interests of certain categories with respect to the overall objectives of the fight against inflation. But now that Spadolini has put the absolute limit of the public deficit in the fight against inflation at 50,000 billion lire, are you not concerned that this policy line may pull the rug from under your feet?

[Answer] We too recognize the basic objective set by the government, although I do not believe 50,000 billion lire of public deficit is necessarily the absolute limit, just as I do not believe in the magical effects of the 16-percent limit on the rise of prices. We have always defended the weaker categories, like the retirees, opposing a freezing of automatic indexation that would make them the sole victims. But we have also proposed that a study be made aimed at rebalancing the accounts of the INPS [National Social Security Institute] with new revenues to come from self-employed workers.

[Question] Your criticisms of the government are presently centered on the internal revenue service. Why?

[Answer] There are two points of major concern to us. First of all, we are concerned over the intent to restore taxing authority to the municipal administrations, especially as regards the imposition of direct taxes. I can understand the levying of taxes by a municipal administration in relation to the services it renders, but I believe the overall tax reform criteria should not be touched.

[Question] And the second point?

[Answer] That of the proposed tax on wealth, which upsets the basic concept of the Italian tax system, wherein taxation is tied to income. Moreover, it would be a further blow to the housing sector, which is today already in dire crisis.

[Question] But Finance Minister Rino Formica says exactly the opposite. He says the tax on real property sources of income could in fact have an indifferent effect on tax revenues, replacing as it would heavy taxes like the INVIM [communal tax on increases in real estate value] and the registration tax, which restrict the freedom of movement of the market.

[Answer] Indifferent tax effects exist only in books. Paraphrasing George Orwell, I would say that there is also psychological taxation to be considered. The mere announcement of a tax on wealth is sufficient to lower the Italian propensity for saving and investing. A much wiser approach instead might be to reexamine all tax rates and revise all tax legislation affecting the housing sector. But the tax system cannot be based on the institution of a wealth tax, and even less on such high levels of it, in that, what is being talked about is no less than 0.50 percent of the building's worth, while countries that have this kind of tax have stopped at 0.10-0.20 percent.

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[Question] There is a feeling that the housing problem will be the PSDI's war-horse in the months ahead. Is that true?

[Answer] I would say it is our most pressing concern. Minister Franco Nicolazzi (Editor's note: Public Works, PSDI) is fighting like a lion to revive the national housing sector and mortgage credit facilities, and for a revision of all the related legislation. Housing is one of the focal points of our party's action and the reason for our presence in the government.

[Question] What are the major dangers the government will face in the next several months?

[Answer] Certainly, the passing of the budget bill, which will require unshakable solidarity on the part of the majority, despite its many emendable provisions, as the prime minister has also said. It will take political courage, and political courage we, for our part, have.

[Question] What others?

[Answer] Once the fog has lifted, there may be other reefs ahead. But we must fight against the psychosis that a government must last not more than 1 year. I say that a government is based on an agreement among the parties and must continue for the duration of this agreement.

[Question] Who tends to seek early elections?

[Answer] Until now, the majority parties--the DC and the PCI [Italian Communist Party]--have always benefited from the climate of radicalization generated by early elections. This time round, moreover, there is a crisis within each of the two parties that may induce them to seek internal unity through elections.

[Question] What do you think will come of the presumed renovation of the DC?

[Answer] I don't believe it. The Christian democrats make a lot of noise, talk a great deal, dress in the sackcloth of Jacopone da Todi and flagellate themselves continually. But they cannot undo the structural aspects of their problem.

[Question] And what are they?

[Answer] The DC is the Western party that has been in power for the longest period of time and has exercised it in the most constant manner. Then, the DC has always represented and tends still to represent the old rural world, the same world in which the Italian Catholic Church is rooted and which has compelled the DC to wage the rear-guard battles of the last several years. The DC has not begun yet to retrieve the laity of our industrial civilization, in which religious sentiment as well takes on another meaning.

[Question] Is that an irremissible sentencing?

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[Answer] I would say it is an objective judgement. For some time to come, and pending a profound cultural renewal within itself, the DC will have to resign itself to a no longer preeminent role.

[Question] And what do you think will come out of the PCI's internal debate?

[Answer] A return to that process of revision that has come to a halt in the last 2 years. When we read that 90 percent of the PCI's militants are pro-Soviet, we can only deduce that the leadership group has lacked the needed courage in the internal debate. The Polish communists are giving a great example of how debate can be carried on openly. It is incredible that the PCI cannot do the same in Italy, where not even the physical courage of those who have the Russian tanks in their doorstep is needed.

[Question] Within a few months, your party will be holding its congress. Do you intend to run again for the secretaryship despite the rising internal opposition?

[Answer] The congress is sovereign, of course. But it is my intention to pursue the course of the last few years, which has given us, among other things, a not ephemeral increase in our share of the votes.

[Question] On what do you base that?

[Answer] We grew even in 1980, when we were not in the government. Our votes are solidly rooted, as certain forecasting institutes that systematically err in their accounts where we are concerned should know by now.

[Question] But will be your policy proposal to the congress?

[Answer] That we go from words into action. That our consultation pact with the PSI, which is open to other laic parties as well, be concretized in operative alliances.

[Question] However, the consultation pact has had poor results to date...

[Answer] That is not true. It has helped to resolve the government crisis and to bring the laic presidency to maturity. In foreign policy, we have signed, in Paris, a joint declaration within the ambit of Socialist International. Within the last few days, economic committees of the two parties have drawn up a joint document...

[Question] But many things still divide you; suffice it to cite the Rome council.

[Answer] If we were identical, we would not comprise two different parties. Now we must address together the issues of the institutional reform.

[Question] With what proposals on the part of your party?

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[Answer] We are prepared to discuss everything. From the parliamentary procedural reform, which the Chamber could be addressing now, while the Senate is debating the budget bill, to the problems of the magistracy, which contains sectors that are dangerously politicized.

[Question] And the electoral reform?

[Answer] We are in no way opposed to a revision of the electoral laws--even if it were a matter of introducing a 5-percent barrier, provided they permit election alliances among homogeneous forces, each preserving its own identity. I know, however, that this proposal is not to the liking of the DC and the PCI, both of which have everything to lose by way of an electoral law that permits new groupings... .

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POLITICAL

ITALY

OPINION POLL ON PSI CRAXI'S STRATEGY, POPULARITY

Milan IL MONDO in Italian 30 Oct 81 pp 12-14

[Article by Bruna Bellonzi and Roberto Ippolito, with Luca Ciarrocca]

[Text] Opinion poll: Do you like Craxi? The charm of arrogance. Has setting off polemics and exploiting it so as to stay at center-stage helped or hurt the socialist leader? IL MONDO interrogated businessmen, union members, and learned men, who replied that...

His direct appearances and intervention are rare and preferably deal with issues of broad international interest. Whatever he says, though, gets top billing, and anyhow his own team works to keep public attention centered on him, with sometimes unpredictable results.

Over the past several months, PSI party secretary Bruno Craxi has initiated action on a number of fronts. Without going so far as to break with the communists over the issues of peace and East-West relations, he has brought them under pressure in local coalitions where the PSI and PCI govern together. When he was charged with being soft on the socialists whose names appeared on the P2 membership lists, his reaction was to pillory local magistrates for conniving with local powers. Too, he kicked a dissident group headed by Elio Veltri and Franco Bassani out of the Party, even though they had made the moral issue theirs. Facing charges that the socialists had been behind offers made by financiers Orazio Bagnasco and Giuseppe Cabassi to take over an interest in the Rizzoli [publishing] group, Craxi's reaction was to level charges against the company's president, Bruno Visentini, who in concert with other private sector industry figures wanted a piece of the publishing combine himself. Not even the presiding officer of the Chamber of Deputies, Nilde Iotti, escaped the socialists' slings and arrows: the charge: interfering with the work of Parliament.

To what extent, though, do Craxi's continually feisty attitude, these foins and thrusts that apparently spare nobody, help the PSI? It is common knowledge that Craxi wants to be prime minister in the wake of an electoral turnabout that would swell his party's ranks. Is that goal closer or more distant now than it was 2 months ago? To find the answer to this question -- a critical one in Italian politics, IL MONDO questioned a sizable sampling of our opinion leaders: intellec-

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tuals, university professors, communications experts, businessmen, and labor leaders. The result is clear -- at least from one angle: whether or not the interviewees shared his views, whether or not they applauded his behavior, Craxi is perceived as the current season's top political star, as the one man who can alter the balance of power between the two major parties and actually manage to update our institutions. Even those who are not sure that Craxi has succeeded -- in the space of 2 months (September and October) -- in checking every adversary move, and thus won consensus in his Party again, will admit that being in the limelight can be very advantageous. "They say it's better to badmouth somebody than not to say anything. And so both supporters and detractors, but also those who are non-partisan but merely relay the news, give him exposure whether or not they are conscious of it," says historian Piero Melograni.

Sociologist Franco Ferrarotti, though, has no doubt about it: "Craxi's popularity is unquestionably on the rise." There is a specific reason for such certainty: "This is partly due," argues Ferrarotti, "to the unpredictability of Craxi's next move. The surprise factor always gives you the edge."

The notion that publicity automatically endows the product with confidence, however, has yet to be proved. Demonstrating that fact is the disparity of views that emerges from IL MONDO's poll, and finds full confirmation in the opposing analyses of two well-known Italian publicists. Says Armando Testa: "I find that Craxi works. As a public figure, he knows how to put himself across. I think that he has been losing support recently, but he's the type who can quickly win it back." There are, however, those who argue the negative effect of message overkill. One such is Giulio Cesare Italiani, who maintains: "The image is unquestionably tarnished. The continued public presence, the unvarying attitude, always the same arrogance and cocksureness eventually tend to erode credibility. The mushrooming attention from the mass media eventually gets irritating."

In spite of the fact that Bettino Craxi has been a front-rank leader for a number of years, he has just recently been perceived as something new on the Italian political stage. The Socialist Party secretary, according to Republican Giorgio Liverani, national secretary of the UIL, "has given the PSI a new image." Enzo Viganò, leader of the independent civil service union, UNSA, calls him "a man of courage who has breathed new life into the political dialectic"; Socialist publisher Adelina Tattilo finds him "the new man in Italian politics: he's a leader who has both charisma and chutzbah."

Some argue that the novelty lies mainly in the way Craxi plays politics. Massimo Severo Giannini, ex-minister for public administration, for one, says: "The political parties must play politics for real money, and Craxi has already struck out along that road; pragmatism is one of his dominant traits."

This is a point in his favor admitted even by those who are not on his side. Textile magnate Giancarlo Lombardi avers: "Right now Craxi's

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the man who is getting down to cases on all the issues, and so all the criticism lands on his head, making him the victim of a typical Italian contradiction: we are hesitant to go along with overly abrupt ways of managing things -- Ronald Reagan- style or Craxi-style -- but then we turn right around and complain that nobody makes any decisions."

The president of Federexport, Celso Battiston, adds: "No question but that the PSI and its people in government, the ministers, have shown themselves very accessible, very attentive, and determined to do their jobs to the best of their ability, and the business community likes this."

And indeed it would appear from the results of IL MONDO's poll that the nation's board-rooms are watching with interest a kind of political behavior that has all the earmarks of efficient management. Attilio Viziano, president of Confedilizia, says: "Its behavior may look pretty brassy, but if it manages to fill the roles of responsible and efficiency-minded European socialists, it can only be a help." Felice Mortillaro, director of Federmeccanica, adds: "Craxi has a remarkable flair for striking at the heart of political issues, even though one cannot share all his views."

On the other side, Gastone Sciavi, national secretary of the United Federation of Chemical Workers, takes a dim view of Craxi, because "he comes on like some kind of political manager, thereby making the whole concept of politics the poorer." When it comes to strategy, there are several schools of thought on the innovations Craxi has made. Renato Buoncristiani, former vice president of Confindustria, says: "Aside from a few excesses, Craxi has made a major contribution to a return to equilibrium in the political system." And Salvatore Valitutti, a university lecturer, believes that "Craxi has got the right idea, because he is trying, through a reform program, to stem the tide of ungovernability." To Giuseppe Agostini, the Social Democratic secretary of the UIL, "tying in with the tradition of the European socialist parties gives the PSI a real chance to run the government."

Gianni Baget Bozzo, a card-carrying socialist priest feuding with the Curia, feels that "While it is a good thing to make a clean break with political stagnation, the starring role Craxi wants the PSI to take on, while it is winning sympathy and votes for the Party in new areas, is in conflict with the Party's historical roots, which reach down into the left."

Another to point out the inherent contradictions in Craxi's strategy is Giorgio Liverani. In his view, Craxi combines independence with a determination to get the secular area into line behind a turn-taking government. But in fact "this turn-taking notion is postponed indefinitely, thanks to the excessive conflict and belligerency Craxi is stirring up on the left." Decidedly negative were the opinions voiced by still another spokesman for organized labor: Silvano Risi, regional CGIL boss for Campania, and by Communist intellectual Giuseppe Vacca.

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As Ridi sees it, "Craxi is aiming at moving the PSI into the power position thus far held by the DC, thus assuming socialist hegemony and thereby shattering the leftist front, meaning that the entire left could, in practical terms, grind to a halt." Vacca holds that "the swing position the PSI holds between the DC and the PCI is being sapped by too much on-and-off-again operation, and is shifting the Socialist Party too far toward terrain which does not traditionally belong to it."

There is no shortage, either, of people who believe they can see wavering in the political line. Gianfranco Pasquino, publisher of *IL MULINO*, says: "If the strategy means restoring balance on the left for a government of left-wing parties, I am for it. But I get the feeling that it is not quite so clearcut, after all, and I would not rule out the chances that it might be just a smokescreen to cloak a moderate stabilization plan that would freeze the PCI out." According to Melograni, the people who need to comb out their fuzzy thinking are the voters, and particularly the Socialist rank and file. Businessman Paolo Buffetti complains that Craxi did not stick to his original plan, but has switched to stealing votes from the DC with an eye toward heading up a moderate government.

Even Craxi's aggressiveness evokes conflicting responses. For Agostini "the unseemly haste to speak out on certain issues makes subsequent changes of course inevitable." Ecologist Fulco Pratesi maintains: "Looking for an opening and trying to give the Party a burst of speed is certainly right and proper; but when it comes to the way he does it -- elbowing the other runners out of the way -- well, there I say no!"

"The factor that concerns me most deeply," Pasquino adds, "is the way the Party is silenced, both in internal debate and in its relations with the broadest reaches of socialism." According to Liverani there is in Craxi "an overdose of sectarian zeal, of brashness, and a lack of the layman's mindset: he never has any doubts." Even more outspoken is the correspondent for *EL PERIODICO* of Barcelona, Rossend Domenech, who sees Craxi's offhandedness making him "the leftist version of Andreotti." But from Craxi's supporters, Adelina Tattilo and Giuseppe Salemi, president of *Confesercenti*, comes the retort that of course Craxi draws a lot of criticism: "It happens to anybody who makes it big," they say.

The problem, however, is not merely one of style. Craxi is charged with having built a power machine all too reminiscent of the one the DC had. Lucio De Carlini, a top communist labor leader, waxes a bit ironic over the results of this offhand behavior: "I don't believe Craxi's game is worth the candle. It's all very well for him to set up shop in competition with the DC, but when it comes to certain relationships between politics and high finance, between government and the economic powers that be, the DC certainly has more experience and more capital."

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Worrying a lot of those interviewed by IL MONDO are three recent episodes: economic ties with banker Roberto Calvi, the P2 scandal, and the CORRIERE DELLA SERA case. "Of course," argues Maria Delfina Bonada, a correspondent for the French weekly LE MATIN, "Italians are used to seeing their governing class involved in shady deals. This time, though, those deals involve the secretary of the Socialist Party, and it is only proper that public opinion should not be quite so forgiving."

More than one of those who, in response to the pollsters' questions, maintained that Craxi's popularity was on the wane, backed up their answers with explicit references to the moral issue. Baget Bozzo stated that, in Liguria, the link between P2 and the appointment of socialists had made a negative difference. And two spokesmen for organized labor, from opposite sides of the fence, Luca Borgomeo (CISL) and Silvano Ridi (CGIL), also citing their personal experience, maintain that Craxi came out of the P2 scandal weakened.

Specifically, on the untoward effect of the Socialist Party secretary's alleged involvement in the controversial attempt to take over the Rizzoli publishing house, a lot of businessmen take a very dim view indeed. De Tomaso, for one, says: "Whatever becomes of IL CORRIERE is indeed extremely important, but this in no way justifies taking steps in conflict with the law on publishing to make it come out right." A sizable share of those polled, however, is of the opinion that, aside from any momentary shadow over his reputation, Craxi's stock is not slipping. In fact, when you add up the pro and con columns, the forecasts for a Craxi decline and a Craxi boom work out just about even, no matter how you slice them.

How the Poll Was Conducted

These were the questions:

1. Of recent weeks Bettino Craxi has been at the eye of a storm of controversy erupting over several issues: the magistracy, the P2 scandal, relations with the PCI, local government coalitions, governability, and Party management. What is your opinion of the Socialist secretary's behavior and his political strategy?
2. In your view, has Craxi gained or lost popularity and consensus among the voters over the past several months?

This was the result: On the matter of popularity and consensus:

Lost: 14 Gained: 12 About the same: 6 Don't know: 1

Who responded to the poll-takers?

Giuseppe Agostini, national secretary of the UIL; Gianni Baget Bozzo, priest, historian for the DC; Celso Battiston, president of Federexport; Maria Delfina Bonada, correspondent for the Paris MATIN; Luca

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Borgomeo, CISL provincial secretary; Claudio Bruno, FIOM/CGIL provincial secretary; Paolo Buffetti, businessman; Renato Buoncristiani, vice president of ANCE (building contractors); Carlo Cassola, president of the League for Unilateral Disarmament; Lucio De Carlini, secretary of the CGIL Transport Workers; Alejandro De Tomaso, businessman; Rossend Domenech, correspondent for the Barcelona EL PERIODICO; Franco Ferrarotti, sociologist; Giancarlo Ferretto, vice president of Confindustria; Ermanno Gorrieri, author of "The Earnings Jungle"; Giulio Cesare Italiani, publicist; Vito Laterza, publisher; Giorgio Liverani, national secretary of the UIL; Giancarlo Lombardi, vice president, Federtessile; Luigi Lucchini, president, Brescia Industry Association; Piero Melograni, historian; Felice Mortillaro, director, Federmeccanica; Gianfranco Pasquino, managing editor, IL MULINO; Fulco Pratesi, president of the Italian World Wildlife Federation; Silvano Ridi, CGIL regional secretary; Giovanni Salemi, president of Confesercenti; Gastone Sclavi, national secretary, Chemical Workers; Adelina Tattilo, publisher; Armando Testa, advertising; Giuseppe Vacca, director of RAI; Salvatore Valitutti, lecturer on the history of political doctrines; Enzo Viganò, secretary-general, National Independent Labor Union; Attilio Viziano, president of Confedilizia.

...And Who Did Not

Alberto Aleotti, president of Farmunione; Guido Artom, vice president of Confindustria; Enzo Badioli, president of Confcooperative; Marzio Bastianoni, national secretary, CISL Government Employees Union; Adriano Buzzati Traverso, scientist; Francesco Cingano, managing director, Banca Commerciale Italiana; Augusto Del Noce, professor of history of political doctrines; Enrico Filippi, Vice president of the Istituto San Paolo; Luigi Frey, president of the Banca Popolare, Milan; Manlio Gormozzi, president of Confartigianato; Nino Pagani, national secretary of the CISL; Onelio Prandini, president of the Cooperative League; Cesare Romiti, managing director, FIAT; Lucio Rondelli, managing director of Credito Italiano; Domenico Rosati, president of ACLI; Pietro Scoppola, historian; Giuseppe Spinella, president of Confapi; Antonino Zichichi, physicist.

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POLITICAL

ITALY

DAILY PRESS LISTING BY POLITICAL PRESSURE GROUP CONTROL

Milan IL MONDO in Italian 30 Oct 81 pp 20-29

[Article by Vittorio Borelli, Davide Paolini, Renzo Rosati, and Sandro Seccianni]

[Text] Mapping the Fourth Estate. Who really controls the press? The big chains control a majority of the big dailies. But who shares the rest of the pie? IL MONDO has drawn the first map of Italy's newspapers, of their owners, and of their circulation. And it turns out that....

D-day was set for Thursday 15 October. By that deadline, every publisher in Italy was to have turned in to the government a set of data to which only a few insiders were privy: who were the real owners of the papers, what their press-runs and paid circulation were, and the current state of their finances. This is a clearly stipulated exercise which must be performed in order to qualify, under publishing law, for the eagerly awaited government subsidy. Despite the deadline, not all these documents have as yet hit the desks at Palazzo Chigi. On the other hand, the political parties are warring more furiously than ever for control of the press, charging each other with trying to raffle off publishers and editors, and invoking both old and new economic potentates.

Does this mean that it is impossible to draw the map of publishing power in Italy? IL MONDO has conducted an unheard-of inquiry: it set out to put together the ownership aspects of all the daily newspapers (except the sports press and the foreign-language papers); it set about pinpointing their political orientation and their strategy, questioning their managing editors to that end; it noted their circulation figures, and then it probed into relations with the advertising agencies (see box, p. 25). From these data IL MONDO reconstructed the corporate identities of the five major publishers.

However, precisely because in the present circumstances the statements of those directly involved (managers and editors) do not invariably bear any direct relation to the facts, IL MONDO, in order to come up

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with as realistic a map as possible, also sought the opinions of a panel of experts: George Armstrong, Giorgio Bocca, Mario Isnenghi, Stefano Passigli, Marco Sigiani, and Francesco Siliati (see box, p 21). On one point their opinions were unanimous: it is always harder to prove direct ties between newspaper mastheads and the traditional political alignments. The splintering and the intricate connections that typify the Italian political scene are directly reflected in the press. In other words, it would be impossible today to duplicate the 1968 analysis done by such a scholar as Angelo Del Boca who, in his essay entitled "Newspapers in Trouble," sorted all the dailies into five categories: right (eight of them, or 11 percent of the total press-run), center-right (27 papers, or 18 percent), center (18 papers, or 26 percent), center-left (17 papers, or 26 percent), and left (5 papers, or 5 percent). Del Boca also noted that the Catholic area, then the voice of the Christian Democrats (DC) held ten papers (the equivalent of 8.2 percent of the total press-run).

The experts agreed that newspapers today are not tied so much to one party or one clearly defined alignment, but tend to run with factions, splinter-groups, and special-interest groups that overlap party lines. So pervasive is this behavior that Sigiani and Siliati, of the Index research institute, believe that the only valid criterion for interpreting the flood-tide of news and for singling out the interests behind it is to check on its behavior day by day, on every single issue. This is certainly a different approach, but even so it is not of itself sufficient to provide us with a political X-ray of the press or to clarify the real meaning of the operations now afoot among the newspaper chains, the economic power groups, and the political parties.

Besides the CORRIERE DELLA SERA, recent comment has centered on IL GLOBO, the business daily that was scheduled to appear in January 1982. Ownership of the new daily, which will be run by Michele Tito, reportedly will be distributed as follows: 30 percent to Callisto Tanzi, owner of Parmalat; 11 percent to Francesco Caporossi, a building contractor; 10 percent to Milan's Ipsoa publishing house; and smaller interests to be held by real estate tycoon Giuseppe Cabassi, National Agricultural Bank board member Aurelio Merlo, builder Vincenzo Romagnoli, industrialist Alfredo Mignini, and socialist financier Sergio Cusani. Newspaper business insiders, however, argue that the GLOBO operation was conceived and supported with pressure on the banks by Leonardo Di Donna, vice president of ENI, and that therefore Di Donna's party, the PSI, is the real godfather of the new business daily.

This active role played by the political parties in the ownership of newspapers may add some particularly helpful overtones to the reconstruction -- sketchy though it is -- which IL MONDO, with the help of the experts, has put together to show the political leanings of the major newspaper chains and of their papers (Rizzoli-CORRIERE DELLA SERA, Caracciolo-Mondadori), as well as our effort to show graphically (see page 23) those of the major nationally distributed dailies: LA STAMPA, IL MESSAGGERO, IL GIORNALE NUOVO, IL RESTO DEL CARLINO, LA NAZIONE, IL SECOLO XIX, IL TEMPO, IL MATTINO, LA GAZZETTA DEL MEZZOGIORNO, IL GIORNALE DI SICILIA, and IL GIORNO.

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[BOX, page 21]

The Five Umpires

To try to give an unbiased answer, and one that would at the same time reflect a broad range of opinion, IL MONDO thought it would be helpful to call in five experts: Giorgio Bocca, journalist, columnist for LA REPUBBLICA and L'ESPRESSO; George Armstrong, correspondent in Italy for THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN; Mario Isnenghi, who lectures on the history of journalism at Padua University; Stefano Passigli, who teaches administrative science at Florence University; Marco Sigiani and Francesco Siliato, research workers at Index, a Milan-based institute specializing in analysis of the mass media (actually it is a left-wing cooperative which has worked for, among other clients, RAI (the radio and TV corporation) and the editorial board of CORRIERE DELLA SERA).

The five experts gave us their views on the major publishing groups and on the major Italian dailies on the basis of various evaluation criteria. Bocca, particularly, ran an analysis on the strategy of owners and publishers, citing concrete examples of their political backgrounds. Bocca, too, as a news veteran, tried to adduce evidence for the trend in relations between editorial staff and political parties. Isnenghi, as an outside observer, concentrated on the historical analysis of the daily newspaper as a political and cultural product. Siliato and Sigiani, from Index, assessed the way the papers take sides on specific issues.

Passigli (who was one of the experts called in to give an opinion in journalist Ernesto Bettiza's suit against CORRIERE DELLA SERA, then run by Piero Ottone, for an alleged change of political line), instead of coming up with the traditional broad-area political analysis, gave us a sociological survey: the capacity of daily papers and also of groups to perceive social changes, and the level of adherence to the values of an advanced industrial society.

Armstrong, applying the handbook of British journalists to the letter, chose to talk about newspapers and newspapermen on the basis of purely professional standards: completeness of information, reliability of stories.

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The Carracciolo Chain -- L'ESPRESSO publishing Co.

Here we find seven dailies, one weekly, and two wire services: it has grown into no puny empire under Carlo Caracciolo, through L'ESPRESSO publishing. The "Editoriale" [publishing house] owns L'ESPRESSO and its 300,000 paid circulation. Here, though, are its interests in other dailies: 50 percent of LA REPUBBLICA, 100 percent of TIRRENO in Leghorn, 100 percent of PROVINCIA PAVESE and of GAZZETTINO DI VIGEVANO, 48 percent of Padua's MATTINO and Treviso's TRIBUNA, and 48 percent of the Sassari-based NUOVA SARDEGNA chain.

The chain also owns 100 percent of AGL, a Rome-based clearinghouse for local papers, and 50 percent of QUOTIDIANI ASSOCIATI, a marketing and features syndicate run by the former deputy managing editor of SECOLO XIX, Vittorio Bruno. The other 50 percent interest in QUOTIDIANI ASSOCIATI is held by Giuseppe Gorjux, a minority shareholder in the GAZZETTA DEL MEZZOGIORNO. In all, Caracciolo controls -- through his holdings -- 340 million daily paper sales a day.

EDITORIALE announced an increase in its corporate capital from 1.5 to 4 billion lire. The operation does not contemplate any influx of new partners. Here are the share-holdings and the new tab for each shareholder: Carlo Caracciolo, 51.5 percent, 1,287,500,000 lire; Eugenio Scalfari, 22.8 percent, 570 million; Aldo Bassetti (through Padana Investments, in which financier Orazio Bagnasco is a partner), 5.4 percent, 135 million; Vittorio Olcese (a Republican member of Parliament), 5 percent, 125 million; Claudio Cavazza (owner of Sigma Tau), 5.5 percent, 130,500,000 lire; Mario Ciancio (Sicilian publisher) 3.8 percent, 95 million; Lio Rubini, 1 percent, 25 million; the Busi estate 5 percent, 125 million.

The capital increase, however, still has some rough edges to be rounded off. Missing are the requisite government permits. And the board of directors is still mulling over the channels and timing of payments. There will be spread-out payment plans (there is talk of 2 to 3 years) for the major stockholders.

Some new moves are under consideration, others have apparently been shelved. The plan to start a daily in Perugia is still afloat, and there are those who predict an expansion into the South, aimed more or less toward the Naples daily MATTINO and the GIORNALE DI SICILIA: there is, however, still pervasive perplexity.

What do the experts think about this chain? On one count, they all agree: it is aiming at a more homogeneous and more progressive concentration. Passigli thinks that "Caracciolo is throwing all his weight behind a reformist plan, and consequently the orientation of his papers will be clearer." A few distinctions among the chain's papers come from a man who has actually worked with Caracciolo for years. Giorgio Bocca says, in fact: "If Eugenio Scalfari, managing editor of LA REPUBBLICA, still shows that he believes that the PCI is evolving

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in the direction of democracy, that's one thing: but Livio Zanetti, who runs L'ESPRESSO, has never put much stock in that notion. Zanetti's brand of socialism harks back to Antonio Giolitti." The experts from Index note that even LA REPUBBLICA occasionally blurs its line: "This paper, which hews to a line closer to the PCI than to the PSI, is trying, for instance, in its Milan insert, to lean toward the Socialists, maybe because in the capital of Lombardy it is Craxi who holds the high ground."

Armstrong's opinion of the paper's professional calibre, though is devastating: "The letters to the editore are a string of denials. In our shop there would already be a few editors' wigs on the green."

Rizzoli-CORRIERE DELLA SERA.

Following the Treasury decision last August that authorized the capital expansion (for a total of 153 billion lire), while denying Centrale, which holds 40 percent of the stock, the right to vote it, ownership now is split this way: Angelo Rizzoli, 40 percent; Bruno Tassan Din's Fincoriz, 10.2 percent; Rothschild Bank of Zurich, 9.8 percent, and Centrale Finanziaria 40 percent. But just the other day we witnessed the start of a fight among the political parties and the money interests over control of CORRIERE DELLA SERA and the biggest newspaper chain in Italy. Actually, aside from CORRIERE DELLA SERA, the chain includes: IL CORRIERE D'INFORMAZIONE, L'OCCHIO, and IL CORRIERE MEDICO; some of the major Italian periodicals: LA DOMENICA DEL CORRIERE, L'EUROPEO, OGGI, AMICA, ANNABELLA, IL MONDO, and CAPITAL. In addition, through LE NUOVE EDIZIONE SPORTIVE, wholly controlled by the chain, it manages LA GAZZETTA DELLO SPORT and owns all the shares in the Trieste daily PICCOLO. CORRIERE DELLA SERA Publishing [Editoriale] also owns 51 percent of Edime (publisher of the Naples MATTINO), 100 percent of Cima Brenta (owner of the Bolzano ALTO ADIGE) and 60 percent of Ligure Publishing (whose flagship is Genoa's daily IL LAVORO.

The experts agree again on the Rizzoli-CORRIERE chain: "It's an expanding galaxy," says Passigli: "A contradiction aggravated by factions." Bocca sees it as a "chain that has come a long way in the past 10 years. IL CORRIERE favored [Berlinguer's] historic compromise with Piero Ottone, went pro-socialist with Franco Di Bella, and now is in a sort of moderate, safety-net limbo." In Isnenghi's eye, IL CORRIERE "has its own ephemeral line, which is a lot less clear-cut than when Ottone was running the paper. The readers, though, are slow in grasping the changes."

And what does the foreign press corps think? "IL CORRIERE swooped down on the P2 scandal like a tornado," replies George Armstrong: as of now, the CORRIERE is untouchable. Of course it lost a lot when Ottone left, but its coverage of Rome is absolutely tops in the country."

Mondadori

Even with its 559 billion lire in billing that makes it the second biggest chain in Italy, after Rizzoli, Mondadori has kept its family

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centered corporate structure. Its managing director is Mario Formenton, 53, married to Cristina Mondadori, and control of the chain is in the hands of Arnaldo Mondadori's two daughters: Cristina and Mimma, but tied up in a trust. Their holdings, divided into two equal packages, represent 57.9 percent of the common stock (the company's stock is split about 50-50 between common stock which carries voting rights, and preferred stock, which does not).

Up to now it has been impossible for anybody outside the family to get a toehold in the management of the publishing house, to the point where Giovanni Fabbri, president of Fabocart and the biggest paper mills in Italy, even though he had acquired 28.7 percent of Giorgio Mondadori's shares, gave up trying to get one of his own people a seat on the board of directors. The paper king was treated almost like a burglar, and rumors which we could not confirm have it that Fabbri's shares were turned over to Roberto Calvi. Other holders of common stock have likewise been relegated to a role several removes from the decision-making process: La Pas di Jody Vender, which controls 10 percent, Mediobanca, which holds 2.8 percent, and the estate of Bruno Mondadori, which holds only 0.6 percent.

The chain's great strength lies in its magazines, which cover every available inch of the market and bill an annual 87.5 billion lire. To this is added 86.8 billion in advertising revenues from various papers. For some years, though, Mondadori has been moving cautiously into the daily newspaper field: first with its purchase of 50 percent of the stock of the REPUBBLICA publishing company, and last year with a buy into the GAZZETTA Corporation, of which it controls 75 percent: this company publishes the GAZZETTA DI MANTOVA, the GAZZETTA DI REGGIO EMILIA, and the GAZZETTA DI MODENA. For the time being this move has yielded results not quite so brilliant as expected: as against the 7,000 to 8,000 guaranteed circulation in Reggio as well as in Modena, as of now they have not passed the 4,000-copy barrier per city. Some reports put the figures still lower: never more than 2,000 copies in Reggio.

These shakedown problems do not seem to have scared the people in charge of the daily sector: already registered with the courts in the proper places are the mastheads of the GAZZETTEs of Forlì, Ferrara, Rimini, and Rovigo, and plans are already afoot for Novara. Also on the boards is a plan for another printing plant, in addition to the one already rolling in Modena.

"Even though some of the papers are different from one another and circulate in disparate areas," says Gaetano Tumiatì, right-hand man to Piero Ottone, general manager of the daily paper division, "I think we can define ourselves as non-confessional, rooted in the western area, and ready to look at anything new that turns up."

Not all the experts IL MONDO questioned, though, would share that view. "As a whole, Mondadori is a conservative chain, with the exception of PANORAMA," says Passigli. "The chain, for instance, does not use its

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enormous influence in the women's press to report on social changes and to spread them on a broader scale." To Isnenghi, though, "Mondadori is sensitive only to market stimuli." Bocca's opinion was just the same: "The chain tends to make deals with the political parties it thinks it can do good business with: right now it has a watchful eye on the communists."

Rusconi

The publishing empire is shared by Edilio Rusconi Publishing (the company that owns GENTA, EVA EXPRESS, GIOIA, GOIELLI, RAKAM, GENTE MOROTI) and Rusconi Associated Publishers (who publish GENTE VIAGGI, SCIENZA, and VITA NUOVA, SUPERBASKET, and TUTTOMOTO). The chain's interests include a book publishing house, commercial television, and film-making.

"When I got started, back in 1957, all I had was 50 million lire in cash as severance pay from Rizzoli," says Edilio Rusconi, the latest big publisher-owner, out of the Mondadori, Rizzoli, and Longanesi stables. Ownership of the chain is held entirely by the family. Son Albert, 37, is managing director and vice president, and is also in charge of financial matters for all the chain's operations.

"The Rusconi magazines," says Passigli, "are decidedly conservative in tone: order and stability is their platform. They are suspicious of any and all social change." Bocca goes further: "Rusconi is everything middle-of-the-road: it IS the DC."

Confindustria-AGA. The paper empire run by the federation of industrial leaders has shrunk considerably over the past 10 years. Its AGA chain (a daily wire service that provides political coverage from Rome) has shut down several dailies (GIORNALE DI BERGAMO and GAZZETTA DI FERRARA), while others no longer subscribe to AGA. Right now Confindustria owns, through Aedificatio (a corporation whose managing director is textile tycoon Giuseppe Bordogna): 1. IL SOLE-24 ORE publishing, which puts out the daily IL SOLE-24 ORE (more than 100,000 sales daily); 2. the Semi Corporation (a minority block is held by Assolombardo, the Federation of Tuscan Industrialists, and the Federation of Veneto Businessmen), whose director is Corrado Notari, who publishes the weekly MONDO ECONOMICO; the SIPI corporation, which owns 75 percent of the AGA wire service (whose managing director is Aldo Diamanti). The remaining 25 percent of AGA's stock is held by nine provincial dailies: LA GAZZETTA DI PARMA, L'ARENA DI VERONA, LA GAZZETTA DI MANTOVA, IL MESSAGGERO VENETO, IL GIORNALE DI VICENZA, ESPRESSO SERA in Catania, ALTO ADIGE in Bolzano, and the other six papers using the same registration) with local distribution and the advertising production and placement monitored by IL MONDO for all 58 dailies.

ALTO ADIGE (Bolzano). Corporate name: Seta. Shareholders: 100 percent Rizzoli-CORRIERE through Cima Brenta. Director: Mino Durand. Political stance: "It's a daily newspaper that gives space to everybody, from the right to the far left." Paid circulation: 35 thousand

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[Box, p 25]

The Advertising Barons

Every year our daily papers and magazines split up more than 600 billion lire (revenues cover from 40 to 60 percent of their costs). But this extra income is not used solely to cover part of their costs: in some cases it is the advertising space buyers who make it possible for a newspaper to publish, by means of an advance and guaranteed minimum buys; in others (as the scandal over Sipra, which has a monopoly over TV advertising, showed) space- and time-buyers keep papers alive that could not possibly make it in the open market.

SPE (Società per la Pubblicità Editoriale). This company belongs entirely to the family of Oscar Maestro, whose holdings include shares in IL RESTO DEL CARLINO and LA NAZIONE. In 1980 it did 78.2 billion lire worth of billing. In addition to CARLINO and NAZIONE, it handles IL GIORNO, IL TEMPO, IL MATTINO, LA GAZZETTA DEL SUD, L'ADIGE, and IL GIORNALE DI BRESCIA.

PubliKompas. Itedi holds 51 percent of its shares, and IFI holds 49: both are members of the Agnelli group. In 1981 it did 45 billion lire in billing. In addition to LA STAMPA and STAMPA SERA, it serves ALTO ADIGE, IL PICCOLO, NUOVA SARDEGNA, and the GAZZETTA trio: Mantua, Modena, and Reggio Emilia.

SIPRA. RAI owns it in toto. In 1980 its billing for dailies and periodicals was 129,271 billion lire. Among Sipra's biggest clients: L'OCCHIO, AVANTI, AVVENIRE, GIORNALE NUOVO, PAESE SERA, LAVORO, MANIFESTO, POPOLO, ORA, UNITÀ, UMANITÀ, and OPINIONE.

SPI (Società per la pubblicità in Italia). 90-percent controlled by Lausanne-based Publicitas s.a., which in turn is controlled by somebody else -- nobody knows exactly whom -- it is sole owner of SIP, another space-time outfit formerly owned by Montedison. In 1980 it billed 75 billion lire. Among SPI's big clients are LA GAZZETTA DEL MEZZO-GIORNO, BRESCIA OGGI, IL GAZZETTINO, IL GIORNALE NUOVO, L'UNITÀ, PAESE SERA, IL MESSAGGERO, LA NOTTE, and IL SOLE-24 ORE.

MANZONI. Controlled by the Caracciolo conglomerate, it billed 58.4 billion in 1980. In addition to LA REPUBBLICA and other in-family papers, it serves L'ARENA, L'ECO DI BERGAMO, and LA GAZZETTA DI PARMA.

The Rizzoli group handles its own advertising (in 1980 it billed 210.5 billion), as does the Mondadori group (86.5 billion), which also owns the GPE, which in 1980 billed 23.5 billion.

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in Trentino and Alto Adige. Advertising: PubliKompass.

ARENA (Verona). Title: Athesis. Shareholders: the publishing company is controlled by a group of Verona and Vicenza businessmen. The major packages are owned by Pilade Riello, Giancarlo Ferretto, Giancarlo Ferro, and Guglielmo Bertani. Director: Gilberto Formenti. Political position: "Somewhere in an area ranging from the (liberal) center-right to the center-left." Sales: 40,000 copies distributed in Verona and throughout the province. Advertising: Manzoni.

AVVENIRE (Milan). Title: Nuova Editoriale Italiana. Shareholders: the corporation is wholly controlled by the Church and the president is Monsignor Ersilio Tonini, Archbishop of Ravenna. Director: Pier Giorgio Liverani. Political position: Catholic. Average daily circulation: 79,908 copies distributed all over Italy. Concessionary agent: Sipra.

BRESCIA OGGI (Brescia). Title: Cooperative 28 Luglio. Shareholders: 74 members of the July 28 Cooperative (all are reporters and typographers who work on the paper). Manager: Sergio Milani. Political position: "Left. The paper speaks to a readership ranging from the DC left to the PCI left." Circulation: 18,000, with distribution in Brescia, throughout the province, and in neighboring areas. Advertising: Spi.

CORRIERE DEL GIORNO (Taranto). Title: Edital spa. Shareholders: 100 percent held by the Christian Democrat Party (DC). The title is leased to Edital, headed by Paolo Sela, president of the Taranto Chamber of Commerce. Director: Vittorio Follini. Political position: "Christian Democrat." Paid circulation: 16,000 copies, distributed in the city of Taranto and in the province, with offices in Lecce, Brindisi, Matera, Potenza, Bari, and Calabria. Advertising: Spi.

CORRIERE D'INFORMAZIONE (Milan). Title: Editoriale del Corriere della Sera - Gruppo Rizzoli. Director: Lorenzo Pilogallo. Political position: "We do not cater to any specific political readership. Our columns are open to all parties except the fascists. We never write political editorials of our own." Average daily circulation: 49,948 copies sold in Milan, Lombardy, and small numbers sold throughout northern Italy. Advertising: in-house.

CORRIERE MERCANTILE-GAZZETTA DEL LUNEDI (Genoa). Title: Cooperativa giornalisti e poligrafici. Shareholders: 100 percent of the title and plant is owned by the cooperative. Director: Mimmo Angeli. Political position: "The five-party area." Paid circulation: 25,000 for CORRIERE MERCANTILE and 140,000 for GAZZETTA DEL LUNEDI; both are distributed in Genoa and throughout the province. Advertising: Sipra.

CORRIERE DELLA SERA (Milan). Title: Editoriale del Corriere della Sera - Gruppo Pizzoli. Director: Alberto Cavallari. Political position: "An independent daily newspaper." Average daily paid circulation: 575,446 copies all over Italy. Advertising: in-house.

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ESPRESSO SERA (Catania). Title: Sem. Shareholders: 50 percent interest held by Mario Ciancio, the other 50 percent by the Cosentino family of Apulia. Director: Giuseppe Simili. Political position: "Ours is a liberal paper." Paid circulation: 6,000-7,000 copies distributed in Catania and Siracusa. Advertising: Spi.

IL FIORINO (Rome). Title: Editoriale Esedra. Shareholders: 100-percent owned by the D'Amato family, through the Etefin holding company. Director: Luigi D'Amato. Political position: "Favoring protection of the market economy." Paid circulation: 31,000, nationwide. Advertising: in-house.

GAZZETTA DI MANTOVA (Mantua). Title: Società delle Gazzette. Shareholders: 75 percent Arnaldo Mondadori Editore, 20 percent Citem (a journalistic staff cooperative of GAZZETTA writers), 5 percent Rino Bulbarelli. Director: Candido Bonvicini. Political position: "Laic and progressive." Paid circulation: 4,000 copies in Reggio Emilia and throughout the province. Advertising: Manzoni.

IL GAZZETTINO (Venice). Title: Società finanziaria Veneto-Friulana spa, which is backed by ranking members of the DC and financing from the Banca Cattolica. Director: Gianni Crovato. Political position: "Center-left, although we should prefer to call ourselves a newspaper, plain and simple." Paid circulation: 120,000 copies distributed in Venice and throughout the Veneto. Advertising: Spi.

IL GIORNALE DEL SUD (Catania). Title: Editrice Rspa. Shareholders: a majority of the stock is held by a group of private citizens of Catania, while the minority share is held by Giuseppe Recca, owner of a commercial TV station. Director: Giuseppe Fava. Political position: "Laic-leftist." Paid circulation: 5,000-6,000 copies in Catania and throughout the province. Advertising: Manzoni.

IL GIORNALE DI BRESCIA (Brescia). Title: Editoriale Bresciana. Shareholders: Banco San Paolo di Brescia and Credito Agrario Bresciano. Director: Giovanni Battista Lanzani. Political position: "We reach an area ranging from center to center-left." Paid circulation: 40,000 copies in Brescia and in the province. Advertising: Spe.

IL GIORNALE DI SICILIA (Palermo). Title: Editrice il Giornale di Sicilia. Shareholders: the Ardizzone family, 50 percent; Piero Pirri, 29 percent; Mario Ciancio, 8.33 percent; Carmelo Costanzo, 8.33 percent (the shares are registered to son-in-law Daniele Rodogno), and the rest to small shareholders. Director: Fausto De Luca. Political position: "Laic, moderate, progressive." Paid circulation: 75,000 copies in Sicily. Advertising: Spe.

IL GIORNALE D'ITALIA (Rome). Title: Editoriale Esedra. 100-percent owned by the D'Amato family through the Etefin holding company. Director: Luigi D'Amato. Political position: "Independent democratic." Paid circulation: 200,000 copies, nationwide. Advertising: Spi.

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IL GIORNALE DI VICENZA (Vicenza). Title: Athesis. Shareholders: the company is controlled by a group of Verona and Vicenza businessmen. The largest interests are held by Pilade, Riello, Giancarlo Ferretto, Giancarlo Ferro, and Guglielmo Bertani. Director: Giuseppe Brugnoli. Political position: "We might be placed in the middle of a fairly broad area, running from the liberals to support for some of the socialists' positions." Paid circulation: 30,000 copies in Vicenza and in the province. Advertising: Manzoni.

IL GIORNALE NUOVO (Milan). Title: Società Europea di Edizioni. Shareholders: 35 percent of shares are held by FIED (an editorial staff cooperative); 13 percent by Indro Montanelli, Gian Galleazzo Biazzi Vergani, and Gianni Granzotto; 37.5 percent is controlled by Silvio Berlusconi's Fininvest, while smaller packages are held by SVED which is in turn controlled by the De Agostini branch of the Boroli and Drago families. Political position: center-left. Average daily paid circulation: 180,052 copies nationwide. Advertising: Sipra Spi Associate.

IL GIORNO (Milan). Title: Segisa. Shareholders: Segisa is wholly controlled by Publiedit, which in turn is controlled by ENI (49 percent), AGIP (13 percent), SNAM (12 percent), SNAMprogetti (12 percent), SAIPEM (12 percent), and SOFIM (2 percent). Publiedit also owns the same printing plant and the Italian wire service. Director: Guglielmo Zuconi. Political position: "Center-left." Paid circulation: 180,000 (in recent months the paper has announced a 50,000-copy rise in circulation) nationwide. Advertising: Spe.

IL LAVORO (Genoa). Title: Editoriale Ligure spa. Shareholders: 60 percent Editoriale Corriere della Sera-Gruppo Rizzoli; 40 percent SOFIS, a financing company with ties to the PSI, and which has its corporate headquarters in the same building as the Party on the Corso in Rome. Director: Ferruccio Borio. Political position: "Left, with special attention to the Socialists. We are, however, open to all democratic parties, and that excludes those unrepresented in Parliament." Average daily paid circulation: 22,170 in Genoa and its province. Advertising: in-house.

IL MANIFESTO (Rome). Title: Cooperativa il Manifesto. Shareholders: a group of the paper's editorial staffers. Directors: Rossana Rossanda and Luigi Pintor. Political position: left. Paid circulation: 20,000 copies, nationwide. Advertising: Sipra.

IL MATTINO (Naples). Owner of title: Banco di Napoli. Title of management: Edime Spa. Shareholders: Rizzoli-Corriere della Sera group, 51 percent, while a minority holding is owned by Affidavit, a DC party company which deals in newspapers. Director: Roberto Ciuni. Political position: "From the center to the left." Paid circulation: 135,000 copies, all over Campania. Advertising: Spe.

IL MESSAGGERO (Rome). Title: Il Messaggero spa. Shareholders: Montedison, 100 percent. Director: Vittorio Emiliani. Political position:

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"Laic, with attention to civil rights; cultural area liberal-democratic, combined with sensitivity to the Catholic area. Politically in favor of the turn and turn about plan for government, and of dialectic between the leftist parties and defense of the pro-western option. The PSI is a point of reference, but we have no ties with the Party." Paid circulation: 220,000 copies, distributed mainly in Rome and in Central Italy. Advertising: Sip.

MESSAGGERO VENETO (Udine). Title: Sve. Shareholders: there are 28 of them, and the biggest packages are held by Ms. Zanussi and Carlo Melzio, who owns a steel mill. Director: Vittorio Meloni. Political position: "We occupy a political area that ranges from the DC to the PSI." Paid circulation: 42,000 copies in Friuli-Venezia Giulia and in the eastern Veneto. Advertising: Spi.

IL PICCOLO (Trieste). Title: Società Editrice Triestina. Shareholders: the paper is 100-percent owned by Nuove Edizioni Sportive, which in turn is controlled by the Rizzoli-Corriere della Sera group. Director: Luciano Ceschia. Political position: "I have an agreement with the publisher to make this a lay-oriented, democratic, anti-fascist paper." Paid circulation: 48,000 copies in the Friuli-Venezia Giulia region. Advertising: Publikompass.

IL RESTO DEL CARLINO (Bologna). Title: Poligrafici editoriale spa. Shareholders: Attilio Monti, 50.2 percent; Oscar Maestro, 35 percent. Busi family, 10 percent, and the rest scattered among small shareholders. Director: Tino Neirotti. Political position: "Center-left, which means in the Liberal-Labor area." Average daily paid circulation: 203,936 copies distributed through Emilia Romagna, the Veneto, and the Marches. Advertising: Spe.

IL SECOLO XIX (Genoa). Title: Società Edizioni e Pubblicazioni. Shareholders: the Perrone family, distributed as follows: 33 percent to Carlo Perrone, 33 percent to Cesare Brivio Sforza (son of a sister of Alessandro Perrone and father of Carlo Perrone), 33 percent to Giulio Grazioli (son of another of Alessandro Perrone's sisters). Director: Tommaso Giglio. Political position: "What the English-speaking countries would call liberal." Paid circulation: an average 35,000 on weekdays and 200,000 on Sundays. Ninety percent of its circulation is in Liguria, the rest in the lower Piedmont. Advertising: national accounts: Publirama; classified: Gbp; both are staff-run.

IL SOLE-24 ORE (Milan). Title: Il Sole-24 Ore editrice. Shareholders: title is held by Aedificatio (a corporation 100-percent owned by Confindustria). Director: Mario Deaglio. Political position: "We are an independent newspaper vis-a-vis Confindustria. We are advocates of the positions of freedom that stem from the laws of the free market, but we temper that stance with support for a modern economy and with the utmost respect for different views." Paid circulation: 135,000. Advertising: Spi.

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IL TEMPO (Rome) Title: Società Editoriale Romana srl. Shareholders: 83.39-percent owned by Spe (a holding company controlled by Carlo Pesenti through Italmobiliare), with 16 percent of its stock divided between Tepro (owned by the Renato Agiolillo estate) and Comainvest. A redistribution of shares is under way, however, and there will probably be a change in the ownership of Spe: there is talk of a move into the company by banker Roberto Calvi. Director: Gianni Letta. Political position: "Catholic, liberal, center-democratic." Paid circulation: 200,000, distribution in Rome and on South, with dealers nationwide. Advertising: Spe.

IL TIRRENO (Leghorn). Title: Società Editoriale il Tirreno spa. Shareholders: 100-percent owned by Editoriale L'Espresso. Director: Franco Magagnini. Political position: "Open left, laic, with input from any democratic source." Paid circulation: 55,000, distributed in Leghorn and Pisa, with some in Lucca and along the Tyrrhenian coast from Carrara to Grosseto. Advertising: Manzoni.

L'ADIGE (Trento). Title: Società Editrice Trentina. Shareholders: wholly owned by Affidavit, a DC Party company. Director: Gianni Faustini. Political position: "This is Alcide de Gasperi's and Flaminio Piccoli's paper. Clearly, it is Christian Democratic." Paid circulation: 15,000 in the city of Trento and its province, with some in the city and province of Bolzano. Advertising: Spe.

LA CITTÀ (Florence). Title: Editoriale La Città. Shareholders: 45 percent of its shares are held by the P77 corporation, controlled by Mauro Ballini, a communications entrepreneur (and owner of Telelibera Firenze). Ballini also owns another 14 percent of the paper, while 11 percent is held by Carlo Fusaro, the corporation's general manager. Director: Giordano Goggioli. Political position: "From the center-left (Republicans) to the left (PCI and PSI)." Paid circulation: 13,000 in Florence and its province. In summertime, all over Versilia. Advertising: P77 press for local accounts and SPI for national (the contract will be signed within the next few days).

LA GAZZETTA DEL MEZZOGIORNO (Bari) Title: Edisud. Shareholders: a 93-percent interest is held by Finedi, of which Stefano Romanazzi, a Christian Democrat, owns 27 percent; Giuseppe Gorjux, an independent and the paper's general manager, owns 27 percent; Ludovico Fontana, of the DC area, owns 27 percent; Raimondo Coga, of the PCI area, owns 9 percent; and Francesco Totarello, of the Socialist persuasion, owns 10 percent. Director: Giuseppe Giacobuzzo. Political position: "The paper has always followed the [regular] Morotea line, and even today it has its roots in the DC, although it is open to the left." Paid circulation: over 80,000 with distribution through Apulia, the Basilicata, parts of Calabria, Molise, and Abruzzi, and Upper Irpinio. Advertising: Spi.

LA NAZIONE (Florence). Title: Poligrafici Editoriale. Shareholders: Attilio Monti, 50.2 percent; Oscar Maestro, 35 percent; Busi family, 10 percent, and small shareholders, 5 percent. Director: Gianfranco Piazzesi. Political position: "Liberal, in the American sense."

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Paid circulation: 195,500 copies in Tuscany, Umbria, and Liguria.
Advertising: Spe.

LA NOTTE (Milan). Title: Siem spa. Shareholders: 100 percent held by Carlo Pesenti's Italmobiliare. Director: Livio Caputo. Political position: "This is predominantly a newspaper, and the only one who engages in politics is the director, who you might say is a middle-of-the-roader and is a member of the national council of the Liberal Party." Paid circulation: 110,000 in Lombardy and the Veneto.
Advertising: Spi.

LA NUOVA SARDEGNA (Sassari). Title: Società Editrice La Nuova Sardegna. Shareholders: Editoriale L'Espresso, which also manages it, 48 percent; Sir Finanziaria, 4 percent; the remaining 48 percent was made over to the Caracciolo group, which owns L'Espresso publishing, for redistribution, under the supervision of the Sardinian regional government, to local businessmen or others primarily interested in Sardinia. Of the total package, 35 percent was bought by Carboni Construction. The remainder is now up for bidding by local businessmen and others. Director: Luigi Bianchi. Political position: "We are a regionally-oriented newspaper, laic and progressive. We supported establishment of a united regional government." Paid circulation: 38,500 in Sassari and Nuoro. Advertising: Publikompass.

LA PREALPINA (Varese). Title: Società Editoriale Varesina. Shareholders: the majority interest is held by Stefano Ferrario, a textile and plastics operator in Borsano (Busto Arsizio). Director: Mario Lodi. Political position: "We have our own political line, which lies along the center-left, and we are not insensitive to carnations [the socialists]." Paid circulation: 20,000 to 22,000 throughout the province of Varese and in the Legnano area. Advertising: Publis-Preal for local accounts, and Manzoni for national.

LA PROVINCIA (Como). Title: Editoriale La Provincia di Como. Shareholders: there are around 80 of them, none of them holding more than 10 percent. Even the director is a shareholder. Director: Gianni De Simoni. Political position: "The line is the Lib-Lab line." Paid circulation: 27,000 in the Larian area and in Brianza. Advertising: Spi.

LA PROVINCIA (Cremona). Title: Società Editrice Cremonese. Shareholders: wholly owned by the Cremona Farmers Association. Director: Mauro Masone. Political position: "Center." Paid circulation: 15,000 in Cremona and in the province. Advertising: Manzoni.

LA PROVINCIA PAVESE (Pavia). Title: Editoriale Provincia Pavese. Shareholders: 100-percent owned by L'Espresso. Director: Gaetano Rizzuto. Political position: "We are a progressive, democratic newspaper. We are concerned with that is happening locally." Paid circulation: 15,000 in Pavia and the province. Advertising: Manzoni.

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LA SICILIA (Catania). Title: Domenico Sanfilippo, publisher. Shareholders: Mario Ciancio (99 percent), and his wife (1 percent). Director: Mario Cancio. Political position: "This is a middle-of-the-road paper." Paid circulation: 55-60,000 in Sicily, most of it in Catania and Siracusa. Advertising: Spi.

LA STAMPA (Turin). Title: Editrice La Stampa spa. Shareholders: Wholly owned by the FIAT group's Itedi. Director: Giorgio Fattori. Political position: "Center." Paid circulation: 335,000, nationwide. Advertising: PubliKompas.

LA TRIBUNA DI TREVISO (Treviso). Title: Editoriale Quotidiani Veneti di Giorgio Mondadori e Associati. Shareholders: 48 percent, Editoriale L'Espresso, 48 percent Giorgio Mondadori, and 4 percent local businessmen. Director: Fabbio Barbieri. Political position: "Progressive, laic but not anti-Catholic, with concentration on local issues." Paid circulation: 14,500 in Treviso and through the province. Advertising: Manzoni.

L'ECO DI BERGAMO (Bergamo). Title: Società Editrice Sant'Alessandro. Shareholders: Wholly owned by a holding company owned by the Bergamo Curia. Director: Mgr Andrea Spada. Political position: "Catholic, but without ties to the DC." Paid circulation: 42,000 in Bergamo and its province. Advertising: Manzoni.

L'ORA (Palermo). Title: Giornale L'Orsrl cooperative editoriale. Shareholders: The paper is owned by L'ORA spa, which, 6 years ago, turned its management over to the editorial staff cooperative. Negotiations are now under way to extend that arrangement to 1992. Director: Nicola Cattedra. Political position: "Left." Paid circulation: 20-25,000 throughout Sicily. Advertising: Spi-Sipra.

L'ORDINE (Como). Title: LCA (Associated Communications Workers); LCA is the new owner since 3 July, and the shareholders are Fiorenze Ligabue, Mario Saporiti, and Paolo Sciumè. The group is closely tied to the LCA cooperative, which publishes the weekly SABATO, an organ of Communion and Liberation. Director: Gigi De Fabiani (who is also director of SABATO). Political position: "We are a Catholic newspaper." Paid circulation: 10,000 in the provinces of Como and Sondrio. Since 3 November, it has been distributed in Brianza as well. Advertising: Manzoni.

L'OCCHIO (Milan). Title: Nuove Edizioni Popolari spa. Shareholders: wholly owned by Rizzoli-Corriere della Sera. Director: Pier Augusto Macchi. Political position: "We try not to be identified with any one political area. We are a service daily with popular orientation, that fights for the common people." Paid circulation: 90,000 nationwide. Advertising: Sipra.

L'UNIONE SARDA (Cagliari). Title: L'Unione Sarda. Shareholders: the paper is owned by the Paisania company, which in turn is owned by a consortium of Cagliari building contractors. Director: Gianni Filippini. Political position: "It is the Sardinians' newspaper. It therefore supports those political parties which, in a practical way,

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and with an independent approach, are working for the island's economic development." Paid circulation: 65,000 in Sardinia. Advertising: Spi.

LIBERTÀ (Piacenza). Title: Stabilimento Tipografico Piacentino. Shareholders: The Prati family has held complete control since 1883. The Prati's also own the printing plant. Director: Ernesto Prati. Political position: "The paper's line is center-right, close to the Liberals." Paid circulation 22,000 in the province and in lower Lodigiano. Advertising: Spi.

MATTINO DI PADOVA (Padua). Title: Editoriale Quotidiani Veneti di Giorgio Mondadori e Associati. Shareholders: 48 percent Editoriale L'Espresso, 48 percent Giorgio Mondadori, and 4 percent local businessmen. Political position: "Progressive, laic but not anti-Catholic, focussing primarily on local issues, beginning with the university." Paid circulation 22,000 in Padua city and its province. Advertising: Manzoni.

PAESE SERA (Rome). Title: Editrice Il Rinnovamento. Shareholders: wholly controlled by the PCI. Director: Giuseppe Fiori. Political position: "Left." Average daily paid circulation 114,334 in Lazio, Tuscany, and Campania. Advertising: Spi-Sipra.

QUOTIDIANO DI LECCE BRINDISI E TARANTO (three editions, one for each province). Title: Edisalento srl. Shareholders: 65 percent Gerolamo Manisco, who owns SIMI, a plant and assembly company serving industry, with headquarters in Brindisi; 30 percent Francesco Flacassovitti, attorney, and a friend of the minister for the Southland Fund, Claudio Signorile; 5 percent by small holders. Director: Beppe Lopez. Political position: "On the left." Paid circulation: 10,000 in Lecce, Brindisi, and Taranto. Advertising: Manzoni.

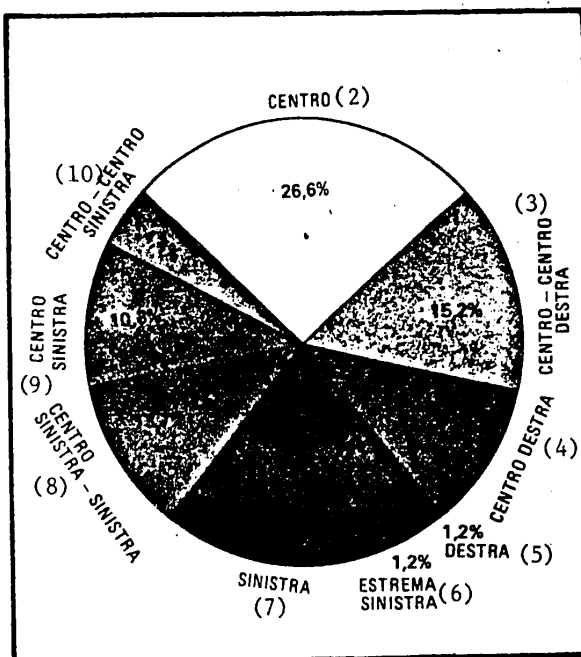
LA REPUBBLICA (Rome). Title: Editoriale La Repubblica spa. Shareholders: 50 percent Editoriale L'Espresso and 50 percent Arnaldo Mondadori. Director: Eugenio Salfari. Political position: "Independent and liberal." Paid circulation: 210,000. Advertising: Manzoni.

STAMPA SERA (Turin). Title: Editrice La Stampa spa. Shareholders: 100 percent held by FIAT's Itedi. Director: Michele Torre. Political position: "Center." Paid circulation: 29,000 weekdays, 330,000 on Mondays when LA STAMPA does not appear. It is distributed in Piedmont and Liguria. Advertising: PubliKompass.

VITA (Rome). Title: Editoriale Esedra. Shareholders: 100 percent by the D'Amato family through the Etefin holding company. Director: Franco Simeoni. Political position: "Democratic centrist." Paid circulation: 25,000 in Lazio. Advertising: Sipra.

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Da sinistra a destra (1)



The pie-chart shows the circulation percentage ratings for Italian dailies by political position. The breakdown was made on the basis of statements by their directors and of the opinions of experts IL MONDO consulted.

Key:

- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| (1) From Left to Right | (6) Extreme Right (1.2%) |
| (2) Center | (7) Left |
| (3) Center—Center-Right | (8) Center-Left-Left |
| (4) Center-Left | (9) Center-Left |
| (5) Right (1.2%) | (10) Center-Center-Left |

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The Party on Page 1

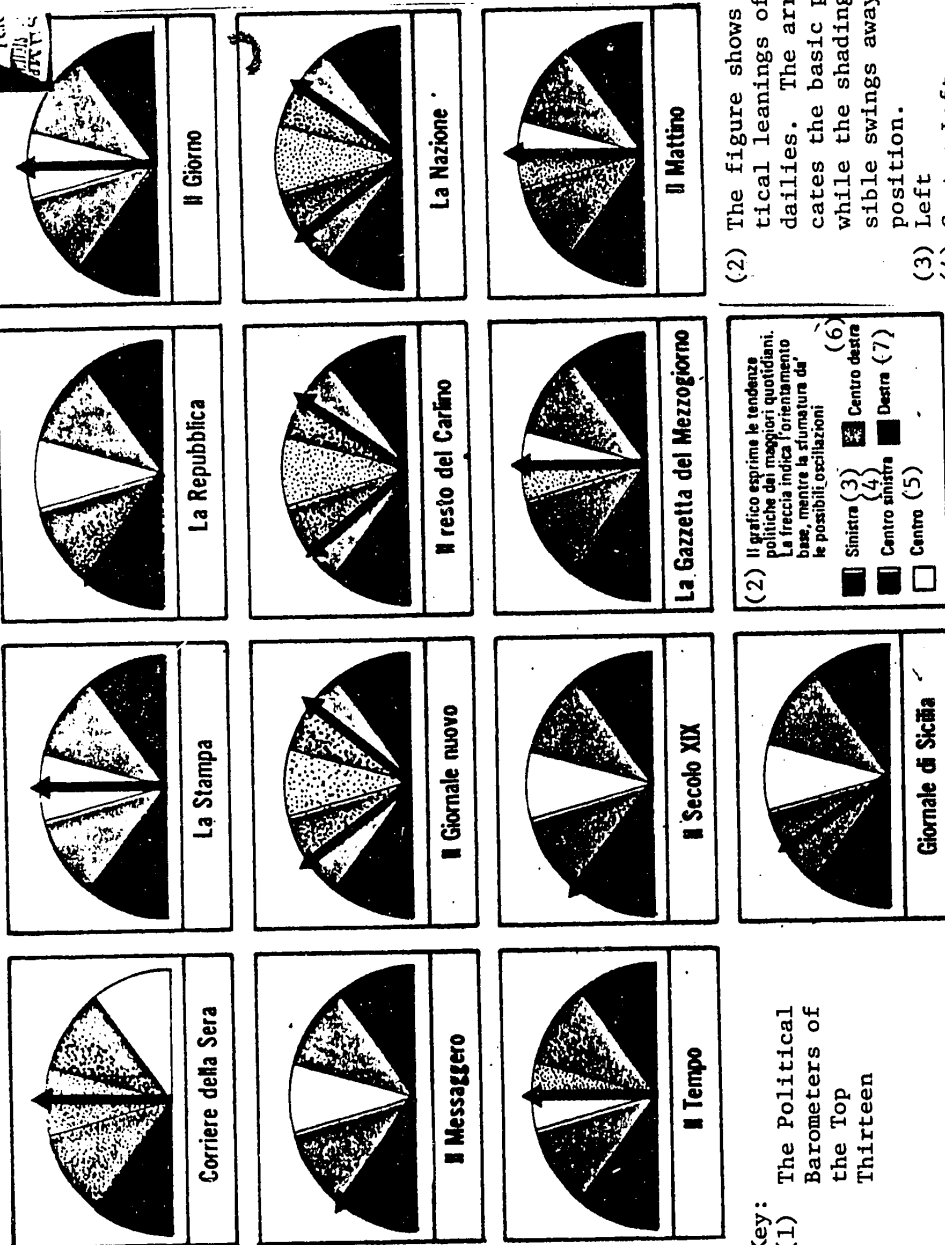
Distribution of Italian political leaders writing or speaking between 5 October and 1 November 1980 in each medium.

	(in percent)						
	Tg1	Tg2	Corriere	Giornalo	Giorno	Repub- blica	Stampa
Government	56.5	23.1	21.0	--	18.2	23.4	21.0
Dc	17.3	15.4	26.2	50.0	36.3	16.7	21.0
Pci	8.6	19.2	21.0	--	18.2	43.3	21.0
Psi	4.4	11.5	5.3	20.0	--	10.0	10.6
Psdi	4.4	7.7	5.3	10.0	--	3.3	10.6
Pri	4.4	--	5.3	--	--	--	5.3
Pr	--	11.5	--	--	--	--	--
Pli	4.4	7.7	--	20.0	9.1	--	5.3
Msi	--	--	--	--	--	3.3	--
Svp	--	3.9	5.3	--	9.1	--	--
Dp	--	--	5.3	--	--	--	--
Independent Left	--	--	--	--	--	--	5.3
Independent Center	--	--	5.3	--	--	--	--
New Alto Adige Left	--	--	--	--	9.1	--	--

Note: Telegiornale-1 [TV] is the only medium where government spokesmen are encountered oftener than all the parties put together. In the GIORNALE, though, the government as such is missing. The DC gets top billing in the CORRIERE, the GIORNALE, the GIORNO and--after the government--on both TV news shows. In REPUBBLICA the star billing goes to the PCI. In LA STAMPA the government, DC, and PDI share the spotlight. (Source: Index)

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(1) I barometri dei tredici top



(2) The figure shows the political leanings of the major dailies. The arrow indicates the basic position, while the shadings show possible swings away from that position.

- (3) Left
- (4) Center Left
- (5) Center
- (6) Center Right
- (7) Right

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The Dailies: Circulation Standing

	Circulation (in th1980 (in thousands)	Circulation 1978 (in thousands)
CORRIERE DELLA SERA	575	543
LA STAMPA	333	362
STAMPA SERA (del lun.)	327	88
GAZZETTA DELLO SPORT	287	155
IL MESSAGGERO	208	233
IL RESTO DEL CARLINO	203	197
LA NAZIONE	192	194
LA REPUBBLICA	191	112
IL GIORNO*	180	189
IL GIORNALE NUOVO	180	179
IL TEMPO	141	164
IL SECOLO XIX	131	125
IL SOLE 24 ORE	119	90
PAESE SERA	114	131
GAZZETTA DEL MEZZOGIORNO	69	76

*The figure for IL GIORNO is for 1979.
Party dailies are not rated.

Source: ADS

The Grabber Groups
Distribution of daily newspaper ownership

	1961	1968	Circulation percentage	
			1961	1968
Publishing and industry groups	37	18	60	44
AGA Chain (Confindustria oriented)	6	11	4.2	5
Political parties	6	11	8.3	11.3
Catholics	7	10	5.9	8.2
Communist-leaning	2	2	2.4	3.3
Partially State-owned	1	4	3	9
Miscellaneous	9	20	4.9	12
Sports	4	4	10.5	8

Source 1968: Angelo del Boca's "Newspapers in Trouble," Aeda. Turin, 1968

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GENERAL

ITALY

PROFILE OF EMERGING DC LEADER QUARTA IN PUGLIA

Milan IL MONDO in Italian 16 Oct 81 pp 27-29

[Article by Paolo Passarini: "The Iron-Willed Prefect"]

[Text] A former civil servant, he rose to power through an error among rivals within the DC [Christian Democratic Party] and has not taken a back seat since. Decisive and aggressive, he is now aiming toward...

Within a couple of weeks, the conquest of Puglia by Giulio Andreotti will be an accomplished fact. The percentages are now set, and when the delegates to the DC's regional congress will have finished packeting up their votes, the list "For a New Frontier" (this is the label of the Puglian Andreotti-ists) will have garnered 35 percent of the party, a relative majority. The heirs of Aldo Moro, on the other hand, will have to settle for less than half the Andreotti-ist total (around 16 percent), a lesser percentage even than that of the D'Oroists (22 percent). And in fact it was the break-up of the Moroists that paved the way for the rise of the man who, in just a few years, has succeeded in becoming the Puglian DC's leading figure, the president of the regional junta, Nicola Quarta, of Lecce.

In a book titled "Vilipendio di cadavere [Contempt For a Corpse]," a young Bari journalist, Federico Pirro, has reconstructed the truculent story of the Puglian DC in the days following Moro's death. In less than 1 year after the finding of the corpse of the president of the DC, the mayor of Bari (Moroist), the provincial secretary of Bari (Moroist), the head of the youth movement (Moroist), the editor of the GAZZETTA DEL MEZZOGIORNO (Moroist), and the president of the regional council (Moroist), were all bounced. This "massacre" of the Moroists was organized by the followers of Vito Lattanzio (former minister, former Andreotti-ist, and now a D'Oroist boss). The operation was marvelously successful, indeed too successful, to the point where toward the end something finally went wrong. Nicola Rotolo, a Moroist and at that time president of the regional council, realizing he was in danger, tried as a last resort to come to an agreement with Lattanzio and thus lost the support of his own followers, who transferred it to an Andreotti-ist regional alderman, not too well known at the time, a newcomer to politics, but very resolute: Nicola Quarta, to be exact. That was on 23 December 1978. Since then, Nini, as he is known to his friends, has not left the

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ambit of Viale Capruzzi, and everyone says (including himself) that when he does (which furthermore will be soon) it will be to move into one of the ambits of Rome--that of Montecitorio, for certain, and perhaps also one of the ministries.

According to statistics compiled by political observers, 80-85 percent of Italian politicians entered party careers between 16 and 18 years of age. Nicola Quarta pertains to the remaining 15-20 percent, having been until 1970 the assistant prefect of Lecce, with no party membership cards ("That is correct," he says, "because I was and still am of the opinion that party militancy is incompatible with a public function."). More probably, until 1970, Nini Quarta had not really given any serious thought to a political career. When, on the eve of the regional primaries, he was offered their candidacy by not only the Christian democrats but also the republicans and the socialists, the assistant prefect of Lecce decided that what he terms "a more incisive experience" would not be to his dislike. But to understand how he found himself at this crucial crossroads, we must go back a bit.

Born in Campi Salentino, in the province of Lecce, on 23 September 1927, Nicola Quarta was the scion of a well-to-do farming family. In its two land holdings (that of Campi and that of Carmiano, brought as the wife's dowry), Nini's father grew mainly grapes and produced wine. The future president of the regional council was put into classical studies in a religious institute in Campi. From there he went to the university in Rome and, in 1950, earned a graduate degree in jurisprudence, with a thesis on criminal law. Immediately following this, Quarta finished first in the competitive examination and began his career in the state apparatus with a position in the Ministry of Interior. Two years went by in transfers, first to Reggio Emilia, then to Matera, and finally, in 1954, a much-desired return to Lecce. Entry into the upper social circles of Lecce (traditionally tightly closed) was not easy and even Quarta had to work hard for it. But he was an attractive young man and had a way with people. He was a good dancer, and his performances of the tango at parties in the prefecture are still remembered in Lecce. Finally, Nini was introduced into what, in a broad sense, is considered the most beautiful home in Lecce--Villa Reale (Reale like Oronzo, the former republican minister).

But his most fruitful cut-in was being actualized by Quarta in another field--the government administrative one, through his work in the prefecture. Gradually, his responsibilities increased: Administrator of municipalities and hospitals, administrative judge in the provincial council of Lecce and, above all, special provisional administrator in the council of Lecce and in innumerable urban centers in Salento. In actual practice, over a period of some 15 years, Quarta performed the functions of mayor as well as administrator, not as a politician but as a high official of the local prefecture. And in this capacity, which vested him with oversight authority, he came into contact with the local politicians and became known and even feared by them. This was the fundamental link. Once in politics, Nini continued to deal with his party colleagues as one vested with a considerably higher level of authority, as one accustomed to judging others and not to being judged. He continually reminds those who seek to throw a wrench into his plans that he is not compelled to live on politics and that he

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can always go back to being a prefect, even in some large northern city. And to further make clear how he regards himself in relation to the others, he says, "Politicians, just to stay in the saddle, will accept just about anything. Not I." It is just this way of his own of staying in the saddle that has enabled him to build up a solid power base for himself. Nini unsheathes this sword not only in local games, but also when he operates in the Rome arena. When he formed the most recent center-left council, Quarta did not want to include the social democrats. From Rome, Flaminio Piccoli ordered him to do so. He replied, "You never show any interest in Puglia, except in these cases. If you are really interested, then you must give me the presidency of the Fund for Southern Italy."

At the DC's most recent national congress, Franco Evangelisti communicated to him: "They are giving us four seats in the directorate; that is, one more." "Then the fourth one is mine," Nini replied. And so it was.

Substantially free of political adversaries capable of worrying him, Quarta, who is well thought of and occasionally helped by the PCI [Italian Communist Party], guffaws openly when the vice president of the council, Mimi Romano, a socialist, of whom he has a not very high opinion, speaks. On the other hand, Quarta, like a good Andreotti-ist, openly shows his preference for the communists over the socialists and says, "If I had my own choice regionally, I would bring the communists as well into the council. I would have no problem with this--either from the political or the human standpoints." Massimo D'Alema, the PCI regional secretary since 3 months ago, met the council president at a debate held 2 weeks ago during the festival of L'Unita of Lecce. He was impressed by the latter's shrewdness: "After the serious defeat they suffered in 1980, the Puglian communists are nervous. Quarta was quick to avoid being hooted. He stated that goernance is impossible without the communists, he attacked the PSI [Italian Socialist Party], and thus won applause for himself, deflecting the hoots toward the socialists."

A "nuclearist" of unshakable faith, Quarta has managed in such a way that Puglia was the first Italian region to decide to accept the installation of a nuclear power plant. He feels he must confront Rome with something big behind him: "I cannot just remain here managing the region's few pennies. I do not want to be merely the president of a regional budget."

Frequently accused of personalism, Quarta justifies himself maintaining that "if one is going to be a president, he must take on responsibilities." Beppe Lopez, editor of the QUOTIDIANO DI LECCE, who sees in Quarta the emergence of a new Christian democrat political breed for Puglia, a more aggressive one than in the past, tells an anecdote. When the regional council deliberated on the location of the new coal-fired power plant, it was 13 August, and the industrial adviser, an Andreotti-ist, was not even present. Everything was decided in 10 minutes, at the end of the meeting, as if the matter was simply an item of "other business." The next day, a QUOTIDIANO DI LECCE reporter interviewed a socialist adviser, Leonardo Morea, for more details. "There is no truth whatever in it," the latter replied. "I can tell you that from firsthand knowledge. I was there." But unfortunately for him, it had been decided after he left the meeting.

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